584 sonal preferences carry weight. The business preliminaries include a small payment from the bridegroom's people in recognition of the fact that the bride's family have had the expense of rearing her and are about to lose her services, an interchange of gifts between the houses, and the provision
585 by the bride's father of an outfit for his daughter. In average peasant families a girl will bring to her new home three sets of every-day cotton clothes and caps, a winter cloak, a set of bedding, and for feast days an embroidered cap or two and a coloured scarf; possibly in addition an aluminium pot or iron bucket; details will vary in every individual case.

428 The laws of inheritance in Hunza show the same equitable
585 common sense as distinguishes the Burusho's other customs. A woman cannot inherit land, since only a man can tackle irrigation work, field making, and so forth. But if a girl is still unmarried when her father dies, it is her brothers' duty to see her adequately outfitted, dowried, and settled. Among the gifts that may accompany a girl are apricot trees; her father or brothers may settle on her the right to the fruit of one or more of the family trees. Our friends of No. 3, who were very straitened and possessed only mulberry trees, had fortunately the right to an apricot tree in Zénába's home garden. We saw Kaníza and her sisters coming home one day, all carrying shoulder-baskets piled high with golden apricots: "We've been to Báltit to gather the fruit of mother's tree," they told us, "and this isn't nearly all. There's shaking-down for two or three days more." When the father dies the family property is fairly divided between the sons, who either work it in common or if they prefer divide it up. Questions then arise as to how many poplars equal an apricot tree, or how many willow trees a wheat field, but the distribution rarely gives rise to quarrels, for the people are just-minded and at need will call in neighbours to adjudicate over knotty points.

428 One of their customs is particularly sane: if a father of
● 587 grown sons elects to marry again, he is free to do so, but in that case he must share the property as if he were himself a son; and a son by the second wife will only inherit a grandson's
587 share. If a woman is widowed young, she will in the natural

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

course marry again, taking with her to her new home any unweaned child, but leaving older children with her first husband's parents. If, however, she has grown sons, it is considered not obligatory but more honourable of her "to guard her husband's grave" as they phrase it; the sons will either retain her at home as still the *rúli gus* of the joint house, or they may give her an adjacent home of her own with her still unmarried girls. In either case they will maintain her with all deference and respect.

When a woman marries she by no means loses her identity. She becomes a "wife of the Diramiting" without ceasing to be "a daughter of the Burong," and when in due course she dies, her own tribal brothers will assist her husband's in performing the last rites. She pays frequent visits to her parents' house, joining when she comes in whatever work is going on; if her family can afford to receive her, she may even go to stay for a lengthy period; it is not unusual for her to take her first baby home and stay for a year after its birth. This does not mean neglect of her husband, for he will still have his mother and sisters-in-law to fend for him. We used to chaff Bibo Gimo's married daughter, whose husband lived in Dorkhan, and ask what he would say to her long absence; but she had, in fact, come to help her mother before and after baby Faqér's birth.

Marriage-related families continually exchange small gifts of fruit or vegetables in season, for at different levels fruit will ripen earlier or later by several weeks; we would see Kaniza, for instance, carrying a small basket of early mulberries to her mother's people or to her married sister in Báltít, who would no doubt send in return some late fruit from Báltít when ours in Aliábád was over. In rush times of harvest, too, relations-in-law are quick to help each other, and a man owes the same courtesies of speech to his wife's parents as to his own.

Except for the physical difficulties of moving about it, Hunza is distinctly a place for the old. No detestable scientific innovations have come to create a gulf between the generations; long after he is unable to help with the heavy work the old man's experience is of value to his great-grandchildren. Levy

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

586 The Hunzan law says that in such cases a child must remain with the mother until it is at least 10 years of age. Of course the child can remain with the mother after that period, too, but the father does not have to pay for its keep after that. Divorce is granted to a man only on the grounds of adultery.

Under Hunzan law a woman cannot get a divorce due to any action on the part of her husband. How-
[643] ever, on some occasions where there has been extreme provocation or other clear logical reasons, and the woman brings her justifiable complaint for divorce before the Mir in person, and if the Mir believes her case merits divorce or separation from the man, he will ask or demand of the man that he divorce his wife.

If the wife decides or wants to leave her husband's bed and board of her own free will, the husband does not have to pay for her keep. She will not receive sustenance from him, but he does have to supply her with clothing twice a year.

• 587 In the event of the death of his wife, the husband is required to wait two months and seven days before he can remarry. However, with the woman, in the event of the death of her husband, she must wait three months and ten days before she can remarry.

586 683 The Mir gave me an example of a divorce case where a certain man had the insidious habit of beating his wife. It seemed he would administer a sound thrashing at the slightest, or even without provocation, until the girl's parents and friends began to fear for her life. In this instance the wife-beater was notified quite clearly and distinctly that it would be in the best interests of all concerned if he gave his wife a divorce.

586 I don't know in what light they regarded this, but now that they knew the man was an avowed wife-beater, if any other woman took the risk of marrying

4: Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

the top of the head for a space 2 inches broad in front, tapering to half an inch behind. Those who cannot boast of long locks, dress their hair into numerous small cork-screw ringlets all round the head.[1] On the approach of middle age the whole head is shaved, according to the orthodox Mahommedan fashion, and the beard is allowed to grow. In Chitral the effect of the long-flowing locks reaching to the waist is often extremely picturesque.

The mode of salutation between equals, on meeting after a prolonged absence, is graceful and pleasing. After clasping each other, first on one side then on the other, hands are joined, and each person in turn kisses the hand of the other. Superiors are greeted either by kissing the hand or touching the foot, both at meeting and parting. In Chitral, when the meeting is between two of unequal rank, the inferior kisses the hand of the superior, who in return kisses the former on the cheek. A similar practice is said to have existed among the ancient Persians.[2]

On the occasion of the visit of one chief to another, a rather curious ceremony called "Kobah" takes place. On arrival, the visitor is conducted to the Shawaran,[3] and the followers of both chiefs show their dexterity in firing at a mark set up on a tall pole, from horseback while galloping at speed. After this a bullock is led out before the guest, who draws his sword and does his best to cut its head off at a single blow, or deputes one of his followers to do so, and the carcase is given to his retinue. The custom exists in Shighnan, Badakhshan, Wakhan, Chitral, Yassin, Gilgit, Hunza, and Nager. In the latter place it is customary to slay the bullock with bow and arrow. Of late years the practice has become somewhat modified owing to the strict observance of Mahommedan customs, and it is more usual to give over the bullock alive to the guest, so that its throat may be cut in a more orthodox fashion; but occasionally a chief wishing to show off the strength of his arm and the temper of his blade, will adhere to the old custom.

Polygamy is of course practised, and the right of divorce is somewhat wantonly exercised. The marriage of very young children is not common, though occasionally practised. Girls are generally married between the ages of ten and four-

[1] Rawlinson mentions this as an ancient Persian fashion.—*Ancient Monarchies*, Vol. IV.

[2] Strabo Book XV., Chapter 3, Section 20.

[3] The Shawaran answers all the purposes of the village green in England, being used for all gatherings and games.

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

B D [562] teen. Wives are regarded as the absolute property of the husband and his heirs. On a man's death his brother can B 595 claim to marry all his widows, and no widow can marry again 582 without the consent of her husband's brothers. Frequently, 587 if a man leaves several widows as well as several brothers, the latter apportion the former among themselves. So strictly D 595 is the rule observed that, should there be only one surviving 582 brother and he an infant, the widow cannot remarry elsewhere till he is old enough to say whether he will marry her or not; 587 On the other hand, it is considered disgraceful to refuse to marry a brother's widow, so that it is not uncommon for a boy of ten years old to marry a woman more than twice his age. So absolute is the custom, that a woman cannot refuse to marry her deceased husband's brother, and her own parents have no voice in the matter. This often leads to two sisters being wives to the same man simultaneously, though the practice is forbidden by Mahommedan law. In Chitral, marriage with a husband's brother, though common, is not compulsory on the woman. Among the Afghans of Dir, if a widow should refuse to marry her husband's brother, he has the power of selling her, as she is regarded in the light of family property, which has been purchased and paid for. Among the Shin caste the marriage of first cousins or other relations within that degree (such as uncle and niece) is strictly prohibited, though allowed by Mahommedan law. In Torwal and Bushkar the marriage of first cousins is allowed, but marriages such as of uncle and niece or niece's daughter are forbidden.

B In none of the Dard languages are there terms distinctive 595 of polygamous relationship. All wives are of equal rank, 601 priority of marriage not conferring any claim. In the Shina and Boorishki languages, uncles on the father's side are styled D "great father" or "little father," according to their age in 595 comparison with that of the speaker's father; but there is a 601 distinct term for an uncle on the mother's side. In the same way the term "aunt" is only applied to those on the father's side, the mother's sisters being all styled "mother." There is no specific term either for nephew and niece, who are styled "son" and "daughter." In the same way cousins are styled "brother" or "sister." This would seem to point to the former existence of communal marriage, such as still exists in some parts of India. In the Khowar language the term "uncle" is applied to the brothers of both father and mother without distinction; but aunts on the mother's side are styled "mother,"